

O B S E R V A T I O N S

O N T H E

S L A V E T R A D E,

A N D A

D E S C R I P T I O N

Of some Part of the

COAST of GUINEA,

D U R I N G

A V O Y A G E,

Made in 1787, and 1788, in Company with

Doctor A. SPARRMAN and Captain ARREHENIUS,

B Y

C. B. WADSTROM,

Chief Director of the Royal Assay and Refining Office; Member of the Royal Chamber of Commerce, and of the Royal Patriotic Society, for Improving Agriculture, Manufactures, and Commerce in Sweden.

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P R E F A C E.

IN communicating to the publick the result of my observations lately made in a voyage to the Coast of Guinea, with two of my countrymen, it is not my intention, without sufficient reason, to add to the number of publications which have lately enlightened Europe, on a subject so deserving her attention, and in the impartial investigation of which she is so zealously employed.

Animated with a desire of defending the cause of suffering humanity, I have no other end in view, than that of contributing some small assistance to the well concerted plans of others, by making known what my own experience has dictated; in a word, to relate what I have seen, and to shew, without vain pretences, what my ideas are, on a plan so

well calculated to expand every heart that is now cherishing a hope for its success.

As the subject has been so amply treated, my readers will not expect to find novelty in every part of this tract; but having been so fortunately situated, as to be enabled fully to inform myself of the nature of the slave trade; of the manner in which the negroes are treated by the Europeans; but more particularly of the possibility of improving, by cultivation, the fruitful soil of Africa, it shall be my endeavour to treat these important subjects in a manner interesting and new.

In the presence of the two most respectable nations of Europe, would I were endowed with powers to represent in colours sufficiently striking, the frightful picture I have formed to myself, of the above-mentioned traffick, and thereby to prove, that these detestable markets for human flesh, constitute the last stage of all false principles; the greatest of all abuses; the inversion of all order; and originate solely in that
corrupted

corrupted system of commerce, which pervades every civilized nation at this day. In fact, when the principles of commerce had been once diverted from the noble *end* of its institution, an institution which promoted the free circulation of commodities, the increase of knowledge, and the wealth and prosperity of nations, and when the spirit of self-interest and monopoly first perverted it from this universal end, which ought ever to have been kept in view, and confined it to particular nations, following insensibly the steps of its degradation, it became the mercenary object of individuals, separate from the general good; could it then be a matter of surprize, that it should ultimately become so debased, as to regard man himself as a merchandise? This detestable abuse may be considered as proceeding from a degenerate love of *dominion*, and of *possessing* the property of others; which, instead of diffusing the genial influence of benevolence and liberty, produces, in their state of inversion, all the horrors of tyranny and slavery.

Persuaded that the moment is now arrived, when mankind will begin to make a real use of their great scientific acquirements, and of the multiplicity of their discoveries ; persuaded that the evil, which begins to infect mankind, has no other basis than the execrable traffic, which is at this day so generally carried on at the expence of human liberty ; and convinced at the same time, of the existence of a Providence, which directs all things according to the universal end it proposes in its impenetrable decrees, and that we are but instruments, by whom it executes its great designs ; convinced, I say, of all these important truths, and inflamed with an ardent desire of assisting in the execution of this great and noble attempt, I am not only ready to devote my own person in this cause, but also to excite all those in whose breast there still remains a spark of humanity, to unite with prudence and activity, to accomplish this grand work, which has for its end the extermination of every *evil* and *false* principle, preparing the way for the reception of *Goodness* and *Truth*, in every human society.

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When I reflect on the importance, the extent, and the grandeur of this subject, it gives me pain in being obliged to treat it in so hasty and incorrect a manner; but pressed for time, I trust my candid readers will receive these few hints in good part, allowing for the necessity of their appearing at this critical moment, when all the great societies of Europe are so strongly interesting themselves in the tender cause of humanity, laudably vying with each other in the honour of pleading at the bar of human sensibility, in favour of the most oppressed nations in the universe.

It may be expedient here to inform my readers, that I intend to publish a more circumstantial account of my voyage to the Coast of Guinea, when opportunity is afforded to prepare it for publick inspection; wherein I propose to treat more fully on the geographical description of the country, on the manners, laws, and customs of the different nations which inhabit those shores; moreover, to treat concerning the commerce now carried on, but more particularly, on that

that which may hereafter be established with very great advantage. I also reserve to myself the satisfaction then of informing the publick, who was the august promoter of the enterprize I undertook, in concert with my two respectable countrymen, and with what humanity France concurred with him in assisting us to perform the voyage. How providentially I was led to make observations on a subject (I mean the abolition of the slave trade) which could only have been undertaken by a nation of such a character and power as that which I have now the honour to address !

In exposing to the world the atrocious acts committed in that part of the globe to which I have been eye-witness, it is not improbable, that both the nations and individuals who have countenanced them, may consider the writer in the light of a spy, and a divulger of those things which ought, in honour, to have been buried in silence. But if they can find no other appellation for the just and pure intentions of a friend to mankind, who dares to expose crimes and cruelties

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ties which the abusers of human right are guilty of, he then accounts it an honour in discharging the duty he owes to society, to be esteemed as such. But let it be well observed, that herein he speaks from a respect due only to truth, with a view to expose *Wickedness* and *Falsehood*, but not *Nations* or *Individuals*.

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O B S E R V A T I O N S
O N T H E
S L A V E T R A D E, &c.

S E C T. I.

On the Mode of procuring Slaves.

C H A P. I.

W A R.

A M O N G the various sources, from whence the Europeans are supplied with slaves on the coast of Africa, I shall first reckon that of *War*.

The *Wars* which the inhabitants of the interior parts of the country, beyond Senegal, Gambia, and Sierra Leona, carry on with each
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other, are chiefly of a predatory nature, and owe their origin to the yearly number of slaves, which the Mandingoes, or the inland traders suppose will be wanted by the vessels that will arrive on their coast. Indeed these predatory incursions depend so much on the demand for slaves, that if in any one year there be a greater concourse of European ships than usual, it is observed that a much greater number of captives from the interior parts of the country is brought to market the next.

The unhappy captives, many of whom are people of distinction, such as princes, priests, and persons high in office, are conducted by the Mandingoes in droves of twenty, thirty, or forty, chained together, either to Fort St. Joseph on the river Senegal, or Niger, in the country of Gallam, or to places near the river Gambia. But when the trade with the French on the river Senegal happens to be stopped, (which was the case in 1787) they bring all their captives to the mouth of the Gambia, Sierra Leona, and other places down the coast. These Mandingoes perform the
whole

whole journey, except at certain seasons of the year, when they are met by the traders belonging to the coast, who receive the slaves from them, and give them the usual articles of merchandize in exchange.

What I have hitherto said, was taken from the best accounts I could collect both from the black and white traders, during my residence upon the coast. It is proper, however, that I should state something on this head, that has come within my own knowledge.

The Moors, who inhabit the countries on the north of the River Senegal, are particularly infamous for these predatory *Wars*. They cross the river, and attacking the negroes, bring many of them off. There are not a few who subsist by means of these unprovoked excursions. The French, to encourage them in it, make annual presents to the Moorish kings. These are given them under certain conditions, first, that their subjects shall not carry any of their gum to the English at Portendic; and, secondly, that

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they

they shall be ready, on all occasions, to furnish slaves. To enable them to fulfil this last article, they never fail to supply them with ammunition, guns, and other instruments of *War*.

To confirm what I have now said, I shall put down the following example :

The king of Almammy had, in the year 1787, very much to his honour, enacted a law, that no slave whatever should be marched through his territories. At this time several French vessels lay at anchor in the Senegal, waiting for slaves. The route of the black traders in consequence of this edict of the king, was stopped, and the slaves carried to other parts. The French, unable on this account to complete their cargoes, remonstrated with the king. He was, however, very unpropitious to their representations, for he returned the presents which had been sent him by the Senegal company, of which I myself was a witness ; declaring, at the same time, that all the riches of that company should not divert him from his design.

design. In this situation of affairs, the French were obliged to have recourse to their old friends, the Moors. These, who had before shewn themselves so ready on such occasions, were no less ready and active on this. They set off in parties to surprise the unoffending negroes, and to carry among them all the calamities of *War*. Many unfortunate prisoners were sent; and for some time continued to be sent in. I was once curious enough to wish to see some of those that had just arrived. I applied to the Director of the company, who conducted me to the slave-prisons. I there saw the unfortunate captives, chained two and two together, by the foot. The mangled bodies of several of them, whose wounds were still bleeding, exhibited a most shocking spectacle; and their situation may be much easier conceived than described. The Director of the company, however, used his best endeavours to console them.

This is a specifick instance, clearly shewing that *one War at least* was undertaken for the sole purpose of procuring slaves. I

cannot, however, help observing, that if no such instance as this had come within my knowledge during my stay in those parts, I should yet have thought myself justifiable in supposing, that the *Wars* among the negroes originated in the slave trade. For in all the observations I have been able to make (and I went to the coast of Africa, not with any commercial views, but for the sole purpose of inquiry and observation) I have ever considered the negroes as a quiet, inoffensive people, happy in themselves, and in one another, enjoying the comforts of life, without the intervention of toil and trouble. If, therefore, I had found *Wars* among a people of such dispositions, and so situated as to have no motive for them, I should certainly have set them down, as having been excited for some diabolical purpose, and for none so likely as for the prosecution of the slave-trade.

C H A P. II.

P I L L A G E.

A second source, from whence the Europeans are supplied with slaves on the coast of Africa, is *Pillage*, which is of two kinds; publick or private. It is publick, when practised by the direction of the kings, private, when practised by individuals. I must also make a further distinction, namely, as it is practised by the blacks and the whites. This last I call Robbery, which will be the subject of the next article.

The publick *Pillage* is, of all others, the most plentiful source, from which the slave trade derives its continuance and support. The kings of Africa (I mean in that part of the country which I have visited) incited by the merchandize shewn them, which consists principally of strong liquors, give orders to their military to attack their own villages in the night. Saturday night is particularly fixed upon for this purpose, being esteemed

the most lucky for expeditions of this kind. However, when slaves are wanted in haste, no night is deemed so inauspicious as to prevent an attempt.

As I have been myself an eye-witness to several of these nocturnal expeditions, it will, perhaps, be better to illustrate this kind of *Pillage* by some examples.

The French make presents to the negro as well as the Moorish kings. It happened when I was at Goree, that an ambassador was to be sent from thence to the king of Barbefin on this errand. I obtained leave with my fellow travellers to accompany the embassy. We accordingly set out, and arrived at Joal, a place where the king resides at particular times of the year, viz. when the trading vessels arrive there.

It is usual, on the receipt of these presents, to send back a number of slaves in return. It so happened, however, that the king of Barbefin had no slaves in his possession at that time. This circumstance it was, that afforded

ed me an opportunity of seeing the expeditions before mentioned.

We resided, I believe, about a week at Joal. During our residence there, the *Pillage*, of which I have been speaking, was attempted almost every night. The following is a description of the persons concerned in it, and of their various successes.

There were several parties of the military, assembled at six in the evening, or about dusk. Each party consisted of about ten or twelve. A large horseman's musket was rested on each of their saddles, in the same manner as those of the English heavy cavalry. On their shoulders were suspended a bow, and a quiver full of arrows. Thus equipped, they went to different villages belonging to the king, and returned usually about five in the morning, or a little before day-light.

In some of their attempts they returned without a single slave. In others they were more successful. At one time in particular they came back with but one captive. This
was

was a beautiful young negrefs, from one of the king's own villages. She was immediately delivered, notwithstanding her tears and cries, to the French ambaffador, whom we accompanied, and, by his order, was carried on board.

It was fortunate however for her, that ſhe belonged to one of thoſe families, which, in conſequence of their birth, are exempted by the laws of the country from ſlavery. This occaſioned a commotion ; for the action appeared to the minds of the people, to be ſo unjuſt and repugnant to the eſtabliſhed laws, that they were nearly on the point of rebelling. The king, when he came to his ſenſes (for he had given his orders reſpecting the ſeizure of this girl in a ſtate of intoxication) ſaw in ſo lively a manner the conſequences of this raſh proceeding, that with the moſt abject ſubmiſſion, he deſcended to prayers and intreaties with the owner, to return the innocent and unfortunate girl. The Frenchman, though ſurrounded by more than two thouſand negroes at the time, and though the embaffy, including myſelf
and

and fellow-travellers, consisted but of five white people, was so madly obstinate, as for a long time to refuse his request ; I say madly, because in all the adventures of my life, I had never so much reason to be alarmed for the preservation of it. At length, after much intreaty, the king promised him two others in exchange, whom he expected to seize on a future expedition ; and thus was the unhappy girl restored to her disconsolate family.

At another time, the military, who had been sent out to *Pillage*, returned with several captives. These consisted of men, women, and children. The men, as they were brought in, exhibited marks of great dejection. One of them, however, appeared to be quite frantick with grief. He beseeched his captors, with great fervency, that they would not tear him from his wife and children. The women, on the other hand, vented their sorrow in shrieks and lamentations. The children, in a state of palpitation, clung to their mother's breasts. Their little eyes were so swelled with crying, that they could
cry

cry no more. During all this time, the captors, to shew their joy on the occasion, and to drown the cries of their unfortunate fellow-subjects, were beating large drums. To this was added, all the noise that could be collected from the blowing of horns, and the human voice. Taking in the shrieks and agony of the one, and the shouts and joy of the other, with the concomitant instruments of noise, I was never before witness to such an infernal scene.

What I have said of the king of Barbesin's conduct with respect to the mode of procuring slaves, is equally applicable to those other kings of the country, of whom I have any knowledge. King Damel, whose dominions lie between Portudal and Senegal, wanting a slave to deliver in exchange for some goods he had bargained for with a Goree trader, ordered his soldiers to seize on one of his own subjects. Finding a woman (whose husband was absent) in a hut with her children, they seized her, bound her, and tore her from her babes, who were rejected, as not being able to perform the journey down to the shore.

The king of Sallum, though he never tastes any spirituous liquors, has recourse to the same practice, as if by the common consent of the kings of Africa, these were the measures to be invariably pursued. The articles, most in demand with this king, are Spanish dollars, and Dutch gourds. Both these he causes to be melted down, and then to be worked into chains, bracelets, and other ornaments for himself and his favourites. Having fixed an extraordinary value upon these, he will at any time depopulate a village to obtain them. Such are the effects of avarice, when it has the power of gratification.

The vessels employed in the trade to lum, by the mulattoes of Goree, are generally sloops. With these they go up the river, and arrive in about three days. Their stay there is very uncertain. It is in general from one to four weeks, according as the king is successful or not in those *Pillages* which he attempts for the sake of procuring slaves. When the traders have completed their cargoes, they return to Goree, where they deliver them, in about eight days. The
 slaves,

slaves, so delivered, are shipped off, by the first opportunity, to the French colonies.

In speaking of these sloops, I cannot refrain from mentioning an instance which came under my own eye. A trading mulattoe of Goree, whose name was Martin, had obtained from the king of Sallum, by means of the publick *Pillage* before described, a sloop full of captives. The greater part of them were women and children. Notwithstanding this, they had been thrown into the sloop as if they had been articles of lumber, and devoid of feeling. Obligated, moreover, from too close a stowage, to lie on the inequalities and protuberances of the bare planks, without being able to change their position, they had in the course only of eight days (which I stated to be the time of the passage from Sallum to Goree) been very materially hurt: for, when I saw them brought out of the sloop, they had several contusions on various parts of their bodies, and in others their flesh was severely cut. A poor child in particular, about two years old, had a very deep wound in his side, made in the manner
above

above stated. He lay afterwards, upon being landed, with the wound contiguous to the ground, so that the sand getting into it, put him to exquisite pain. I mention this instance, only to give an idea of what are thought to be rooms of accommodation for slaves, and of that inhumanity, which naturally springs out of the prosecution of this trade.

Before I close my account of the publick *Pillage*, I must not forget to mention, that the kings of those parts, (except the king of Sallum) never openly profess the right, which they thus unjustly usurp over the lives and liberties of their subjects. For this reason they plan their expeditions in such a manner, that they must arrive at the place they intend to *Pillage*, in the dead of the night. It is impossible, therefore, for their subjects, in such a case, to discover who are the instruments of those acts of violence; and they may with greater reason suppose, that they were perpetrated by a roving banditti, than by the direction of their own kings.

I come now to the private *Pillage*. This is practised by individuals, who, tempted by the merchandize brought by the Europeans, lie in wait for one another. For this purpose they beset the roads, and other places, so that a travelling negro can hardly ever escape them. To enumerate the many instances of this private depredation that happen, would be an endless task. I shall therefore select but one, which, on account of the circumstances that followed, may strike the reader as singular.

A Moor had seized a free negro, and, having secured him, he brought him to Senegal, and sold him to the company. A few days afterwards this moor was taken by some negroes in the same manner, and brought to be sold in his turn. The company seldom buy moors: but as they were obliged, in consequence of their privileges, to supply the colony of Cayenne with a certain number of slaves, and as several ships then in the road, in consequence of the king of Almamy's edict, as before related, could not complete their cargoes, they made the less scruple
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to buy him on this occasion. Chance so directed, that the moor, after he had been purchased, was carried on board the same ship, in which the negro lay. They no sooner met, than a quarrel took place between them, which occasioned, for some days, a great tumult in the vessel. Such rencounters frequently happen in the slave-ships, and the uproars, occasioned by them, are seldom or never quieted, till some mischief has been done.

C H A P. III.

Of R O B B E R Y.

I have been hitherto describing the *Pillage*, as it is either publick or private. I have also considered it as practised by the blacks upon one another. I come now to speak of it, as it is practised upon these by the whites; and this I call *Robbery*.

It is too well known, at least on some parts of the coast, that the Europeans have

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not

not failed, when opportunity presented itself, to seize the unsuspecting natives of Africa, and to carry them by force to their own colonies.

This is usually practised by the Europeans, where they have no settlements ; so that the fact generally escapes the notice of their countrymen ; I mean principally up the rivers, where they have ventured to penetrate for the purpose of a more advantageous trade. At such places, they compel the negroes to deliver them hostages, whom they keep on board. The truce being concluded, the unsuspecting natives embark with confidence, and repeatedly visit the vessel without any kind of suspicion or fear. But, if the wind should be at all favourable, none of the European monsters, who are engaged in this trade, scruple to set sail, and to carry away not only the free negroes, who have come on board to trade, but the hostages also, in defiance of the law of nations and common honesty.

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These transactions are not only iniquitous in themselves, and therefore derogatory from the character of a civilized nation, but are often so fatal in their consequences, that those, who perpetrate them, have a claim to the appellation of devils rather than men. For it may easily be supposed, that the relations and friends of those, who have been thus fraudulently carried off, will spare no pains to retaliate. This is generally the case. The next ship that visits the coast, is perhaps cut off. Thus, to a villainous action, is superadded the guilt of becoming instrumental to the murder perhaps of their own countrymen, and at any rate of occasioning the innocent to undergo the punishment of the guilty.

When I was at Goree, in the year 1787, accounts came down by some French merchantmen from the Gambia of the following particulars.

The captain of an English ship, which had been some time in that river, had enticed several of the natives on board, and, finding

a favourable opportunity, failed away with them. His vessel however was, by the direction of Providence, driven back to the coast from whence it had set sail, and was obliged to cast anchor on the very spot where this act of treachery had been committed. At this time two other English vessels were lying in the same river. The natives, ever since the transaction, had determined to retaliate. They happened, at this juncture, to be prepared. They accordingly boarded the three vessels, and, having made themselves masters of them, they killed most of their crews. The few who escaped to tell the tale, were obliged to take refuge in a neighbouring French factory. Thus did the innocent suffer the same punishment as the guilty; for it did not appear that the crews of the other two vessels had been at all concerned in this villainous measure.

These particulars, as I observed before, had found their way down to us at Goree, and, from the channels through which they came, I had no reason to question their truth.

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It is remarkable, however, that, though I wanted no confirmation of them in my own mind, yet, since my arrival in London, I have heard them fully substantiated : for I dined lately by accident with a certain underwriter, to whom undesignedly relating the time, place, and other circumstances of this transaction, I found that I had only been describing the fate of certain vessels, which, to his knowledge, had been cut off in the same part of the world, and at the same season.

C H A P. IV.

Of TREACHERY or STRATAGEM.

The various other ways in which slaves are obtained, may be included under the words *Treachery* or *Stratagem*, being only so many different modes of the same practice. One or two instances will, I hope, suffice, as I do not wish to take up the reader's time more than is necessary, and as he will be enabled by them to judge of the rest. Besides, the stratagems which the traders daily practise to get slaves, are so numerous, that it would take a volume to recount them.

A French merchant of Goree landing at a village, observed an handsome well-made negro. He immediately made application to the chief of the village to seize him. On the proposal of the chief, the people unanimously agreed to grant his request:

quest: for it is a law in those parts, that if all the village consent, any visitor residing among them may be made a slave. To gain the consent of a whole village on such an occasion, is by no means difficult. The Africans in general, like other people in the same unimproved state, are governed by their passions, and the prince has only to distribute a sufficient quantity of spirituous liquors among them to produce the effect he wishes for. Such was the case in the present instance; and the unfortunate negro, though he was their neighbour and visitor, was taken and sent into slavery. His wife, having heard of his capture, came down bathed in tears. She begged to be bought, that she might go with him, and share his fate. But the dealer who bought him, had probably no goods at the time, and her intreaties were ineffectual.

The king of Sallum, under pretence of wanting millet, enticed from a neighbouring village a negress, who had a quantity to dispose of. Elated with the prospect of sell-

ing it to advantage, she did not consider the imprudence of the step she was about to take. She accordingly went to the king, who not only immediately deprived her of her millet, but seized her, and sold her for a slave.

I cannot close my account of the different methods daily practised to obtain slaves, without giving an instance, that will shew, in a very glaring light, the bad tendency of the slave trade, and the baneful effects it produces on the human heart.

One of the Moorish kings had received from the director of the company of Senegal, the predecessor of him who now occupies that post, the usual presents, in consequence of which he was bound to procure slaves. Having been rather dilatory in the performance of his engagement, he was applied to by the director, who represented to him the pressing wants of the company. The king, thus urgently pressed, offered him a certain negro on account. This negro was none other than his own minister, who had been his confidential friend

friend and faithful adviser for many years. The director, shocked at the circumstance, endeavoured to point out to him the impropriety of his conduct, but his representations were ineffectual. The negro, in whose presence the offer was made, finding that his unworthy master was obstinately bent upon his design, ran up to him, drew his dagger, and plunging it into his own breast, exclaimed, “Thou savage! I shall have the satisfaction of expiring, before thou canst reap any advantage from thy base ingratitude to the best of servants.”

I have now finished my section on the mode of procuring slaves, and I should have been made much happier by my visit to the coast of Africa, if no such instances had occurred, as I have felt myself obliged to communicate to the reader.

S E C T. II.

Of the Manner in which the Negroes are treated by the Europeans.

C H A P. I.

Of the Negroes considered as TRADERS.

Self-interest, the principle of all commerce, appears in the very basest point of view, when considered, with a reference to the intercourse subsisting between the white and the black nations. The fraud and violence which the stronger generally imagine they have a right in trade to exercise towards the weaker, compel the latter in their turn to have recourse to practices equally base and cruel. Such is the true picture of the low cunning and barbarity which the whites practise towards the negroes, and these last towards their own people.

In such mysteries of iniquity, the Europeans have a decided advantage over the untutored African nations ; and thus practise their villainous artifices with impunity. The most despicable juggling tricks are used in measuring or reckoning the commodities bartered with the negroes. Thus for example, instead of the bottles and barrels shewn and approved of, others are substituted apparently of the same size, but containing less perhaps by one half. Advantage is taken of the difficulty with which the negroes reckon beyond ten, and thus the accounts are confused, and they are deprived of the greater part of the commodities bargained for. The wine and spirits, samples of which the negroes had tasted pure, are afterwards adulterated with water. They are defrauded in all sorts of weights and measures ; and, that the European adepts in villainy may play off their tricks with success, they previously take care to intoxicate the unsuspecting negroes, and by this means fascinate their senses in such a manner, as to multiply or magnify every article set before them. These ways of trading are esteemed the most modest
that

that can be practised, and there is not a single European who scruples in the least to have recourse to them on all occasions. I have repeatedly been an eye-witness of such villainy.

C H A P. II.

Of the Negroes considered as SLAVES.

On the coast of Africa there are two descriptions of slaves, namely, the immediate descendants of slaves, and those who are reduced to slavery in the different ways I have described. The former are seldom sold, except for theft, but the most trivial transgression of this kind is often made a pretext for selling them. At Goree I was present at several publick sales of young women,* who were sold for acts of petty larceny, which scarcely deserved the name of crimes. The treatment these last experience is mild, when compared to that of the wretches, who are enslaved by force or fraud, and who are treat-

* The treatment the sex experience from the white traders on all occasions, is such, as decency forbids me to describe.

ed exactly like wild beasts. They are confined in prisons or dungeons, resembling dens, where they lie naked on the sand, crowded together and loaded with irons. In consequence of this cruel mode of confinement, they are frequently covered with cutaneous eruptions. Ten or twelve of them feed together out of a trough, precisely like so many hogs. There is even less care taken of them than of brutes, while they are confined in these horrid receptacles, and, till they are stowed away in the slave vessels, to be sent from the coast; nor are they worse treated on board, if we may credit some accounts.

I am very sorry that humanity obliges me here to divulge a most barbarous practice, frequently used by the French traders in the Middle Passage. I have been assured by several of their merchants and captains, that when detained by calms, or contrary winds, occasioning a shortness of provisions and water; or when some fatal disease happens to break out among the slaves, they never fail to mix corrosive sublimate, or some other active
poison

poison with their victuals, and thus coolly dispatch the wretches committed to their charge. They affirm that it would be an act of imprudence to undertake such a voyage unprovided with poisonous drugs, and they boast of being less cruel than the Dutch and the English, who in similar circumstances throw the innocent victims over-board without ceremony.*

Of the above cruel practice, my journal furnishes a melancholy instance, communicated to me by Capt. L. of Havre de Grace. About two years ago, a slave vessel belonging to Brest, having been becalmed in the Middle Passage, fell short of provisions and water. The Captain on this occasion had recourse to poison, by which so great a number was daily dispatched, that of *five hundred* slaves, only *twenty-one* arrived at Cape François.

* Since my arrival in London, this horrid practice has been authenticated by the respectable authority of several French gentlemen.

S E C T. III.

*Whether the Negroes are naturally inclined to
Industry.*

C H A P. I.

In FOREIGN COUNTRIES.

From several experiments made on different plantations in the West-Indies, it appears, that negroes, when working, not by the day, but by task, have given convincing proofs both of ability and industry.*

C H A P. II.

In THEIR OWN COUNTRY.

As liberty and reason, the two grand springs of all human action, are not yet

* A remarkable and well authenticated proof of the above interesting fact will be given at the end of this little tract.

developed

developed in these people, who have long remained in a state of infancy, solely because their faculties have not been cultivated, in consequence of which their wants have been but few, it may perhaps be concluded, that these raw nations are incapable of civilization, but this opinion will soon vanish on reflecting, that the effects produced must entirely depend on the manner of forming their intellect. New objects ought to be presented to them, in order to excite new desires, and to call forth those faculties, which have hitherto lain dormant, merely for want of exercise. Thus in the progress of their improvement it will be necessary to introduce among them a proportionable degree of what we generally call luxury, by which I do not mean the abuse of the conveniences of life, which enervates mankind, but such moderate use of those conveniences, as will rouse them to action.

The behaviour of the king of Barbessin convinced me, that this useful degree of luxury might easily be introduced among the people of the coast. I gave him a pair of
common

common enamelled slave buttons, with which, though ignorant of their use, he was infinitely delighted. On my shewing him for what purpose they were intended, he appeared much mortified that his shirt had no button-holes; but observed that it differed in this respect from that of a mulatto from Goree, with whom he insisted on exchanging shirts in our presence, a demand with which the man was forced to comply. Transported with his new ornaments, the king held up his hands to display them to the people. His courtiers soon surrounded my hut, intreating me to furnish them also with buttons, which I did with pleasure. This fondness of the natives for European baubles, proves that an advantageous commerce might be established among them with very little trouble and expense.

The conduct of the present king (late grand marabou*) of Almammy, is more interesting to humanity, and evinces the firm manly character of the negroes when en-

* The marabous are the chief priests among the negroes, and are the only people who can read and write Arabic.

lightened. His understanding having been more cultivated in his youth than that of the other black princes, he has rendered himself intirely independent of the whites. He has not only prohibited the slave-trade throughout his dominions, but (in the year 1787) would not suffer the French to march their captives from Gallam, through his country. He redeems his own subjects when seized by the Moors, and encourages them to raise cattle, to cultivate the land, and to practise all kinds of industry. As grand marabou, he abstains from strong liquor, which, however, is not the general rule among that order; for some who travel with the whites are not scrupulous in this respect. His subjects, imitating his example, are much more sober than their neighbours.

This proves to what degree of civilization these people might be brought, if with prudence and patience this great and noble enterprize was once undertaken; but without introducing some degree of what we generally call Luxury, this cultivation would, in my opinion, be intirely impracticable. To
what

what purpose would the human understanding be cultivated, if Luxury, by which I mean nothing more than the improvement of the conveniencies and comforts of life, did not keep pace with it? The former indeed could not take place without the latter. Uncivilized nations in general are led merely by animal instinct to procure their subsistence, but as soon as the understanding begins to be enlightened, by means of reflection upon what is agreeable to life, above mere necessities, Luxury must of course be introduced.*

* By LUXURY, I understand, all enjoyments beyond the necessities of mere animal life. Consequently to live in a civilized community is already a sort of luxury; and if the cultivation of our understanding be necessary, we ought also to be indulged in the use of a word which is now so generally abused.

S E C T. IV.

DESCRIPTION of the COAST.

C H A P. I.

C L I M A T E.

The climate of the coast of Guinea, as of other countries, varies with the nature of the soil, its elevation or depression, the comparative state of its improvement, and other circumstances, perhaps not yet sufficiently investigated. The latitude of the place is by no means a certain criterion of its climate, since even in the midst of the torrid zone, we meet with all possible gradations of climate. The high lands of Camarons in particular, though only between three and four degrees distant from the line, are covered with everlasting snow.

It is the general opinion, that the most unhealthy climates on the coast, are those of Senegal and Juda, or, as it is called by the English, Whidah. The neighbourhood of the banks of the River Gambia, however,
which

which has lately been much frequented, hath been found to be as unhealthy as those just mentioned, especially during the great rains, and immediately after their cessation. In general it may be concluded, that low and marshy situations are very unfavourable to the health of the Europeans, who may expect the most fatal consequences from irregularity, or excess of any kind. But a due regard to temperance, and such moderate exercise as would not induce too violent a perspiration, would doubtless be the best means of guarding against the effects of a sudden change of climate. Thus the body would gradually accommodate itself to its new situation, as is actually experienced by every one who duly attends to these precautions; and this happy effect takes place sooner or later, according to the weakness or strength of the stranger's constitution, as well as to the more or less manly education he may have received, and the habits he may have formed in the earlier part of his life. The intemperature of those climates may also be in some degree resisted, by fixing one's habitation on an elevated spot during the unhealthy season of the year. For my own part, although I arrived on the

coast during that season, I escaped all the diseases of the country. This I ascribe entirely to the cautious temperance I observed. During a mortality which raged at Senegal while I was there, not a single gentleman or officer on shore was attacked, but out of eleven sailors belonging to the vessel in which I returned to Europe, six were taken off in the space of a month. It must be observed, however, that seamen, by the tyranny or neglect of the captains, by a bad or scanty diet, and by the other hardships they undergo, are often exposed to many causes of disease, which do not affect persons living regularly on shore, and which will ever more or less attend the service of monopolizing Companies, or individual merchants, who, *regardless of the lives of men*, make gain the sole object of their speculations.* It is remarked, that Europeans of a slender habit are generally found to be the most healthy on the coast of Guinea.

From what I have been able to collect, it appears, that the rainy seasons follow the passage

* It is worthy of remark, that since wine was substituted for the brandy, which till within these last three years was served out to the French troops on the coast, they have been incomparably healthier.

sage of the sun from the equator to either tropic, so as always to prevail in those places where the sun is vertical. East of Cape Palmas I am told they seldom set in before June, when the sun returns from the northern tropic; but to the westward of that Cape, and up the whole country, those seasons generally commence within the month of May, and continue for three or four months. In the beginning of this season, the earth being softened with the rain, the negroes till and sow their ground, and after the return of dry weather, they gather in their crops, an occupation they seldom abandon, even though allured by the most advantageous commerce. I have sufficient reason to believe, that were the coast cultivated to the extent of which the soil in general is susceptible, the climate would be much meliorated.

C H A P. II.

Of the Soil.

The soil all along the coast is very unequal. From Cape Blanco down the coast, to the River Gambia, it is in general very

fandy, but as the sand consists of broken shells, covered in many places with a rich black mould, it must be favourable to vegetation. The most barren places of this part of the country, except just on the sea shore, are covered with grass and bushes; and where the black mould is found, the vegetation is luxuriant, and the trees of vast dimensions. I have remarked, that the mountains are generally composed more or less of regular basalt, exhibiting remains of most prodigious volcanoes, the eruptions of which greatly improve the soil around them. Hence the mountains and high grounds at Cape Emanuel, Goree, Cape Rouge, and other places lower down, are commonly very fertile. Where rice thrives best, the ground in general is low, marshy, and unhealthy.

C H A P. III.

The Productions.

Animal. The cattle on the coast are smaller than those of Europe, and not so fat as those of England or Holland; yet their flesh is very nourishing, and they give milk in abundance.

abundance. Their inferiority appeared to me to be the effect of the careless and unskilful management of the negroes. I once saw four oxen sold for eighteen livres. They must be raised on the coast, as foreign cattle do not thrive. Even those from the Cape de Verd Islands do not answer on the coast. The whole coast is abundantly stocked with sheep, hogs, and all sorts of poultry, which propagate with astonishing rapidity. Fishing and hunting are most eagerly pursued by the negroes, who have, however, but a very gross idea of any mechanical means of facilitating those employments. Of the prodigious shoals of numberless kinds of fish, I could have formed no idea without having seen them with my own eyes. Spermaceti whales abound on the coast. In passing from Goree to the Continent, distant about five miles, I have often rowed through shoals of them, and have been under no small apprehensions of their oversetting my canoe. Lower down the coast the English and Portuguese carry on a considerable fishery of those whales; and ambergris is found in such quantities on the coast, that I have more than once seen the negroes pay their canoes with it.

it. Till lately the learned were at a loss to which of the kingdoms of nature this production was to be referred, but they are now pretty generally agreed, that it is the excrement of the sparmaceti whales.

Vegetable. The grass is thick, and grows to a great height. The natives are often obliged to burn it, to prevent the wild beasts from harbouring in the fields, but it soon springs up again. Millet, rice, potatoes, pulse, and many other excellent vegetables, are cultivated on the coast with very little trouble, and in a profusion perfectly astonishing to an European. Such indeed is the plenty which prevails on the coast, that all the European ships are victualled, without the smallest inconvenience to the inhabitants. There is also abundance of the most wholesome and delicious fruit; articles of no less consequence than those just mentioned. Sugar-canes grow wild in many places, which with a little cultivation might be rendered extremely valuable and productive. The same may be said of the tobacco-plant. Several species of cotton are also spontaneously produced by this excellent soil; one of them
may

may be spun without being carded, and almost without any preparation. The negroes spin it into very fine yarn, of which they make a good but narrow cloth.*

Indigo of different kinds also grows wild, and in such quantities, as to be a very troublesome weed in the rice and millet fields. What a strange inversion of nature does not man, actuated by the most extravagant and most ridiculous selfishness, everywhere labour to effect? What necessity is there for exiling this plant from the soil and climate which nature has assigned it, in order to transplant it into a country, where it is far from thriving so well as in its native place, and where it fails every third or fourth year? Dyers, who have tried the African indigo, affirm, that it is better than that which is produced in Carolina and in the West Indies. The specimens of cotton and indigo, which I have brought with me from the coast, have been carefully examined by people of skill, and found to be of the best quality.

Gum

* The first considerable exportation of cotton and indigo from the Coast to Europe, as far as I have been informed, was made in the year 1787, while I was at Goree, by a Frenchman, who had resided some time in that island.

Gum is another valuable article, and is not as some imagine produced in the neighbourhood of Senegal only; it is also found on most parts of the coast, though the negroes have not yet got into the practice of collecting it, which they might do with very little trouble. My fellow-traveller, Dr. Sparrman, extracted a large quantity of the sap of a small but most juicy tree, which grows in great abundance on the coast, and exposing it to the sun for a few hours, had the satisfaction to find it converted into an elastic gum, equal in all respects to that which is known by the name of Indian rubber. The coast also produces a great variety of the most valuable and beautiful woods, many of which are scarcely known even to our botanists. I brought with me samples of fourteen species, including one remarkable for its colour, which is a very beautiful red. Among the different plants, which grow on the coast, is a kind of aloes, of which the negroes make most excellent ropes. Of several sorts of roots and leaves they make mats and baskets, and their manufactures of this kind are really elegant; — this being the principal art in which they appear to equal if not to excel the Europeans.

Minerals.

Minerals. — Except some trifling and unsuccessful attempts, made by Chevalier de la Brue, in the beginning of this century, the Europeans have never made any particular search for *Minerals* on the coast, which, however, it would be well worth while to attend to, especially as it is well known in what abundance gold is found in the inland parts, notwithstanding the negroes are very unskilful in collecting it. An exact and regular examination of the metallick productions of the mountains, particularly those of Sierra Leona, and the adjacent country, would certainly be an object of great importance. In Gallam is found a very tough and excellent kind of iron, and the negroes work it with much ingenuity.*

* The mineralogical observations made by my fellow-traveller, Capt. Arrhenius, on that part of the coast where we travelled, particularly respecting the Volcanoes, will undoubtedly prove very interesting, when he has leisure to put them in proper order for publication.

OBSERVATION. — *I cannot omit to mention in this place, that Mr. Geoffroy de Villeneuve, a young French officer, and skilful naturalist, who made a very extensive journey in the year 1787 into the interior parts of the country above Goree, will probably soon entertain the publick with a faithful description thereof, so much the more interesting, as he has with indefatigable pains and deep knowledge, examined the disposition of the inhabitants, and the nature of the country, in a manner which certainly will do honour to the philosophy of this century.*

S E C T. V.

*Of the IMPEDIMENTS which will oppose
European Settlements on the Coast of Guinea.*

C H A P. I.

False Opinions.

The diminution of the value of the West Indian Islands will undoubtedly be the strongest objection against forming settlements on the coast of Guinea; but this objection, which is wholly resolvable into a narrow policy, founded on false and interested principles, might be easily obviated, if my necessary brevity would permit me to enter on the discussion. To suppose that the European nations, which have West Indian colonies, would be injured by forming others in Africa, is just as unreasonable, as to suppose, that a man's property would
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be injured by putting him in possession of another estate, in addition to that which he already enjoys. Allow the old colonies to be lessened in their value, the loss will be more than compensated to the mother country, by settlements formed in an extensive region, which yields spontaneously the tropical productions now so much wanted in all luxurious and civilized communities. I met the whole force of this objection on the coast, and perceived clearly that this circumstance alone had hitherto prevented the European governments from forming settlements in Africa. I nevertheless saw that such settlements would be formed sooner or later, and that they could not fail to acquire strength, and to produce the most solid advantages to any nation possessed of them, especially to that which shall first undertake so beneficial an enterprise.*

But

* That it is necessary for a *free, commercial, and laborious* nation to look out for foreign settlements, when *population* and *manufactured products* encrease in a similar proportion, is a truth as evident as that without *enlarging space* for the former,

But if even the best monarchs be surrounded by courtiers, devoted to partial and avaricious views, under the illusive semblance of national interest, can it be expected that the light of enlarged policy, dissipating the thick darkness in which they are enveloped, will dispose them to adopt plans extensively beneficial to mankind, and conformable to the great law of creation?

Are

former, and *seeking for an emporium* for the latter, the progress of *population* and *commerce* must necessarily and of course cease. Hence sound policy dictates that the government of such a nation should with the affectionate care of a provident father, prepare proper places for receiving the superabundance of population and products—a principle which few mother countries seem to have observed in the settlement of colonies. In a future treatise the author will endeavour to shew, that this fundamental mistake is the true cause of the ruinous and unsupportable expence in which all the European colonies have involved their respective mother countries. He will propose a plan, the adoption of which he is of opinion would effectually prevent such ruinous consequences in any settlement that may hereafter be established by the Europeans. He will also enumerate the productions of the coast of Guinea, and the European commodities preferred by the inhabitants, adding some directions and cautions proper to be observed in trading and conversing with them, together with several other interesting particulars.

Are not the governments of the two most flourishing nations, England and France, who give laws to the rest of Europe, influenced by powerful possessors of the ancient colonies and opulent merchants of their productions? It is impossible that information of so delicate a nature should be obtained pure and unadulterated through the medium of surly, sordid planters and sugar factors, who are acting only from a vile self-interest.*

* I cannot help here reflecting on the strange means the French employ for the encouragement of this execrable trade. They allow their merchants a bounty of 150 livres tournois for each slave they import into *Cayenne* and *La Guyenne Françoise*; 100 livres for the southern parts of *St. Domingo*; 80 livres for *La Jeremie* and its dependencies; 60 livres for *St. Marie*, *Leogane*, and *Port au Prince*; and 50 livres for *Cape François* and its dependencies.—Besides this, Government pays a premium of 40 livres per ton for all the ships that go to the coast, and they are also more favoured in the measurement than any other. These bounties, granted for promoting the sale of human flesh, is the occasion of their committing the most abominable abuses, which cry for vengeance, and are even injurious in the extreme to the Government which encourages them.

C H A P. II.

Of the Diseases.

The diseases to which the Europeans are subject from the climate of the coast, may be reckoned among the greatest inconveniences to establishments of white people in that part of the world. Fortunately, however, they may in general be obviated by making choice of elevated situations, and if possible by forming the first settlement on an island; by keeping up the spirits of the new colonists, so that their minds may be agreeably occupied to gratify the affections of the soul; by accustoming them, as I have already observed, to a moderate degree of exercise; guarding carefully against wet and damps in the rainy seasons; by observing a good diet, or regularity of living, and keeping the bowels open. Such precautions are the surest antidotes against most of the bad effects usually resulting from a sudden change of climate. It is a fact confirmed by observation, that, excepting accidental or violent deaths

deaths or infections, disorders to which every country as well as Africa are subject, the evils I have been speaking of, prevail chiefly among that class of people, who suffer their brutal passions to get the upper hand of their reason, and whose will and affections always govern their intellectual faculties. Nothing is more common and fatal among this class, than excess in drinking. Nevertheless there are remedies on the spot well known among the negroes, which effectually cure the diseases that cannot be escaped.

C H A P. III.

Of Musketoos.

The musketoos are generally very troublesome ; but as they are only generated in stagnant and putrid water, it is easy to perceive that this evil is not without a remedy ; because by draining the marshes, and by cultivating the land, the cause which produces them will in a great measure be removed. It is likewise certain, that it is not difficult to accustom one's-self to them, and it is astonishing to see with what unconcern the ne-

groes walk quite naked, furrounded by swarms of those insects, without regarding their attacks. Smoke, in general, is a good preservative against them.*

C H A P. IV.

Of Thorns and Thistles.

The inconveniences of thorns and thistles that grow wild in very great abundance among the trees, bushes, and grafs, are likewise an hindrance to the commencement of cultivation; but if the negroes were employed to pull them up, this obstacle would be of little consequence; for they are so used and accustomed to them, that they make no scruple of penetrating across the thickets which most abound with them. Besides, the cultivation of the country will soon exterminate these impediments, as well as many others.

* Mr. Sefstrom, in Sweden, has lately discovered, that a very small quantity of camphire, strewed on a fire-coal, immediately destroys every insect within the reach of its effluvia, and no doubt would prove fatal to the musketoes. See the Acts of the Royal Society of Sciences at Stockholm, for the year 1787.

S E C T. VI.

R E F L E C T I O N S.

From all that has been said, as well as from many other particulars, unnecessary to be repeated here, as they are already laid before the publick, it is evident, that the slave-trade is a *Commerce*, carried to the highest pitch of human depravity, and it is to be feared that its total suppression by all the Europeans nations is a thing more to be wished for than expected at once, unless some of the civilized nations were to unite in establishing colonies on the coast of Guinea. May therefore every nation, seriously engaged in the cause of liberty, consider this efficacious remedy with the strictest attention, and reap the great advantage to be derived from the fruitful soil of this vast part of the globe, by the effectual means already pointed out,

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namely,

namely, that of Cultivation *. But, as the settling of new colonies, and the gradual abolition of this trade, require the most scrupulous attention, I venture to flatter myself, that from some experience and application to this matter, I shall be able to excite every feeling and disinterested mind, to view this grand object in a proper point of light : I consider it therefore as a duty to lay before them the following reflections.

Though it be usual to compare nations and
their

* Establishments of new colonies in Africa have been opposed by some with an apparent strength of argument ; the principal points of which may be collected under the following heads : 1st. That it would be introducing among the simple and innocent people the corrupted manners of the Europeans.—2d. That such establishments would be the means of increasing and perpetuating the practice of making slaves.—3d. That Government will be exposed to considerable sacrifices to secure protection to the colonies, and to supply them with necessaries from Europe, &c.—In a work I am preparing to lay before the publick, it is my intention to submit, for candid perusal, the reflections I have made on these objections, and endeavour to prove the great error by which these real friends to humanity are at present influenced,

their colonies to parents and their children, yet in reality the comparison is not just, as things are circumstanced at present.

In every individual family, what is so highly regarded, or esteemed so highly interesting, so useful, directing the attention to sound policy, as the human production or propagation of mankind? Where is that parent, who not only strives to give his children as good an education as he himself has received, but impelled by affection even endeavours to elevate them into a superior state? Acting thus, has he any other end than that of introducing them as active, zealous, and laborious citizens, from a principle of usefulness, as reasonable, beneficent, and religious fathers of future families, into that society, of which he himself forms a part?

From what has been said it follows, that children, when they arrive at the age of maturity, although they have been useful to their parents during their minority; yet it is not to be inferred, that from a principle of

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obligation

obligation or false gratitude, they ought inseparably to abide by their parents throughout life. No ! in a more advanced age, nature and reason combine to emancipate and justify them, even though opposed by their parents ; when in their turn they independently establish themselves, and lay a foundation for new families, which augmenting the prosperity, and strength of the community, necessarily promotes those of their parents. How could any society whatever otherwise continue to exist ? In a word, a child is fruit hanging on the tree ;—man, arrived to full growth, is separated therefrom, which, under the direction of Providence, reproduces in its turn, a new tree that may do honour to the forest.

The gratitude and filial attachment which a child constantly preserves for those who gave him being, is always proportioned to the education he has received from them, and to the tie which has been mutually formed on both sides, during the state of non-age.

Societies at large ought to act precisely on the same principle in forming colonies, since these are nothing else but their own children, or the superfluity of their population.

When therefore a large Society thus gives birth to a small one, in the establishing thereof, can it possess a more noble view than that of regarding in the first place the interest of mankind, or *universal Society*, and afterwards the advantage of its own colony or *Society in particular*? Standing thus between them both, will not the happiness of both center in itself? Does not the father of a family rejoice in the happiness both of his country and his children? But is there any colony existing founded on these truly humane principles? Does not the education which the present colonies have received, and do still receive from their interested and imprudent parents, prove the rankest hatred between beings that ought to be united by the tenderest ties? Whence proceeds the cause, that smaller societies have been compelled by misunderstanding to separate from the greater which gave them existence, but perverted education,

education, combined with the false principle of endeavouring to keep the child, arrived to its maturity perpetually in leading strings, like an infant ?

Since my short stay in London, I have weighed with the strictest impartiality the argument for and against slavery ; I hope, therefore, I may be permitted to communicate my ideas on this delicate and interesting subject, making man always the principal object of comparison, as being the most exact form, and the most perfect model existing in the creation.

No one will deny that the two distinct and principal faculties, which essentially constitute man, are the *Will* and the *Understanding* : the former is derived from some kind of love, and being from the birth possessed by man in common with all other animals, he would become even more savage and destructive, if he had not the opportunity in society of cultivating his other faculty, the *Understanding*, which by instruction is capable of infinite elevation. But
when

when this latter faculty comes to maturity, it then acquires a right of directing the *Will* in the way most conformable to wisdom, and bears the same relation to it as a helm to a ship, which is constantly directed thereby in the course most favourable to the voyage.

This elevation of the *Understanding* above the *Will* or *Passions*, is the same as what we call *Education* or *Civilization*. Education with respect to every man in particular, and civilization to mankind in general.

The greatest human societies may in general be divided into two classes; the *civilized* and the *uncivilized*; and the obligations the former are under to the latter, are precisely the same as those of parents towards their children. From this analogy between children and uncivilized nations, it may then easily be concluded, that the one as well as the other are governed by their passions, in consequence of their understanding not being cultivated.

If we feel within us an interior but distinct voice, dictating that we ought to seek our own happiness in promoting that of our posterity ; in ascending from particular to general, we shall also feel that the instructed and civilized nations for their own advantage must of necessity act unanimously for the happiness of the barbarous and uncivilized.

If the tutelage of children be regarded as a period of slavery, I allow that the civilized nations have some right to exercise a certain dominion over the uncivilized, provided that this happy dominion be considered as a paternal yoke, and that the duration do not exceed the period of the child's maturity.

Let us then form new settlements along the African coast ; settlements which shall have no other aim than that of inviting those nations to the riches which will arise from the cultivation of their own country, and thence the enjoyment of civilization, to both which they are capable of applying themselves with ardour and joy. — Let us thus on the wreck of tyranny raise altars

altars to humanity. Let us give to this weak, timid, and ignorant people, a masculine and courageous education. Let us make them feel the nobility of their origin, that under our tuition they may become generous from sound political interest; and may they no longer be slaves, but men. Let us for our own part freely assist them in tilling the fine country they inhabit. Let us prove to those innumerable multitudes of men, by the force of example, that they possess the most fertile soil. Let us also, by example, teach them no longer to suffer themselves to be torn from their native shores. Let us teach them to shake off the irons, and to revenge themselves on the blind tyrants, who shackle them, by becoming more useful to them in a state of freedom.

Note to Sec. III. and Chap. I.

The following Circumstance is related by Mr. *de la Blancherie*, from an *Extract of the Journal of his Voyages*, published at Paris, in 2 vols. 1775.*

A N inhabitant of St. Domingo had a negro, who for a long time had solicited for his liberty, and which he had fully merited by his services; but that which ought to have procured it for him, was precisely what

* This journal gives the history of a young man whom the author knew to have died, in consequence of a very dissolute life, induced from a faulty education, and from which the most important deductions may be made, respecting publick education, and the duty of parents. The same Mr. *de la Blancherie* has, since the publication of this work, digested and carried into execution in Paris, the plan of a *Bureau de correspondance générale et gratuite pour les Sciences et les Arts*, where men of all nations, and every class, should find, as in a *living Encyclopedia*, (to use the happy expression of His Royal Highness the Duke of Gloucester) the means of communication and instruction, and every good office relative to the Sciences and the Arts. For twelve years past he has contended with all possible obstacles, in order to persuade mankind to pursue their true interests, by a *reciprocation of good offices*. Mr. *de la Blancherie* is at present, and will remain some time in England, to acquire connexions useful to this grand view.

prevented

prevented his master from granting it, namely, his being essentially useful to him. The more the negro pressed to obtain his freedom, which had been promised him, the more pretences were found for eluding and deferring the execution of the promise; the master himself no longer hid from his slave his great attachment to him. Yet flattering as this kind of refusal was, far from diminishing his desire of liberty, it served to encrease it. He resolved then to employ another means, which was to buy his freedom; appreciating himself according to the reasons his master had given him, for not fulfilling his promise. In some parts of St. Domingo, the inhabitants do not enter into the detail of the food and clothing of their negroes. They give them two hours in a day for cultivating a certain portion of land, granted to them for their subsistence; those who are industrious, not only obtain what is necessary, but even that which enables them to carry on a commerce, more or less considerable, according to their ability. Our black, at the end of some years, gained more money than was requisite to redeem himself, and presenting the

the gold to his master, told him that he was resolved to gain his liberty, and offered to pay the price of another negro. The planter surprized, says to him, " Go, I have sufficiently trafficked in my fellow-creatures, enjoy what is your own : you have restored me to myself." He immediately sold his plantation, and only remained long enough at St. Domingo to collect his property. He returned to France, and in the way to his province, was obliged to pass through Paris. Remaining in that seductive town, he spared nothing that could give an idea of that opulence which is attached to the name of an *American*. Women, high living, gaming, parties of pleasure of all kinds, he gave himself up to, without restraint, embracing every opportunity of expence. His fortune was soon dissipated. In that wretched situation, it was necessary to determine on something, but on what was the question. To remain in France a ruined man was impossible ; to return to the islands, what an embarrassing humiliation. Nevertheless, on reflection, he flattered himself he should find more resources there than elsewhere,

elfewhere, depending rather on the attachment of those whose fortunes he had made in St. Domingo, than on the friendship of those who had been the promoters of his ruin in France, he determined to embark. His arrival at the Cape surprized every body acquainted with his misfortune. They pitied him, but no one gave him the least assistance. His ancient friends only permitted him to be a witness of the pleasures he had procured them, without making him a partaker in their enjoyments. Many who had personal obligations to him, were never at home when he visited them; a dreadful example this, joined to many others which present themselves daily, and are yet insufficient to prevent men from desiring to form such connexions. Thus reduced to live in the wretched inns on the port, which are only suited to the poorest, he had not yet been to see his negro; whether he had been prevented from not knowing where he was, or from being ashamed of presenting himself in the condition to which he was reduced, I know not; but the black, who had a house, having learnt his misfortune, and discovered

covered his retreat, soon threw himself at the feet of his dear master and benefactor (for these were the terms he made use of) accompanied with tears at considering his situation. His zeal was not confined to words, he made him master in his house; but on reflection, putting himself in his place, he saw his self-love mortified by the contempt inseparable from indigence, and the pain which is induced by the consciousness of being in a state of dependance; he felt all the weight his benefits must have on a generous and liberal mind. “My dear master,” said he, embracing his knees, “I owe to you
 “all I am; dispose of every thing I have,
 “quit this country, where your past mis-
 “fortunes will give birth to new ones;
 “abandon those ungrateful people whom
 “you did not oblige with a view to their
 “future services.” How shall I be able to live in France? “Ah, my dear master, shall
 “your slave be happy enough to induce you
 “to accept of a tribute of his gratitude?
 “will you do him that kindness?” The master quite affected, knew not how to answer. The negro continued, “fifteen
 “hundred

“ hundred livres, will that be sufficient ?” Ah, it will certainly be too much answered the master, dissolved in tears. Immediately the black quitted him, and returning, put into his possession a deed, which insured him for life fifteen hundred livres. The planter is now in France, and actually receives every year his pension, six months in advance. The negro’s name is Lewis Defrouleaux, and I saw him at the Cape, where he continued to keep house.

F I N I S.

A D V E R T I S E M E N T.

THE AUTHOR has lately published TWO VIEWS of the COAST of GUINEA, with separate Descriptions, embellished with four small Prints.—In these Views are introduced some historical facts related in this pamphlet, pages 9, 11, & 12. The size 22 inches by 17, and the price 15s.—His view, in undertaking to publish them, was more essentially to serve the cause of humanity, and he has therefore offered them at the same price which they cost him, not wishing to have any emolument from this sale.—They are to be had of the Author, No. 6, in the Poultry; at Mr. J. Phillips’s, George-Yard, Lombard-Street; Mr. B. Evans, Printfeller, in the Poultry; Mr. S. Walter, Homer’s Head, Charing-Cross; Mr. W. Dickinson, Printfeller, No. 158, New-Bond-Street; Mess. Robson and Clarke, New-Bond-Street; and Mr. B. Chaftanier, No. 62, Tottenham-Court-Road.